

## Message Text

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APPROVED BY D - MR. ROBINSON  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 311892 TOSEC 340065

NODIS  
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ROBINSON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

1. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED FROM ROBERT HARTMANN AT THE WH TE  
HOUSE THE LATEST DRAFT OF THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE FOR  
YOUR REVIEW. HARTMANN HAS ASKED FOR ANY COMMENTS BY NOON,  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29. WIN LORD AND LARRY EAGLEBURGER  
ARE REVIEWING THE COMPLETE DRAFT ON A VERY CLOSE-HOLD BASIS.  
THE TEXT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY/NATIONAL SECURITY SECTIONS  
FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF FOREIGN POLICY SECTION:

I AM PROUD THAT TODAY AMERICA IS AT PEACE. FOR THE FIRST

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TIME IN A GENERATION, NONE OF OUR SONS ARE FIGHTING AND  
DYING IN BATTLE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. AND THE CHANCES FOR  
PEACE AMONG ALL NATIONS ARE IMPROVED BY OUR OWN DETERMINA-  
TION TO HONOR OUR VITAL COMMITMENTS IN THE DEFENSE OF PEACE  
AND FREEDOM.

3. I AM PROUD THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS STRONG DEFENSES,  
STRONG ALLIANCES AND A SOUND AND COURAGEOUS FOREIGN  
POLICY.

-- OUR ALLIANCES WITH OUR MAJOR PARTNERS, THE GREAT  
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN, AND  
CANADA, HAVE NEVER BEEN MORE SOLID. OUR COOPERATION HAS  
BRANCHED OUT INTO NEW FIELDS, SUCH AS ENERGY POLICY,  
ECONOMIC POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, EVEN  
WHILE OUR DEFENSE AND POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS HAVE GROWN  
CLOSER. AND WE HAVE USED MANY AVENUES FOR COOPERATION,  
INCLUDING THE SUMMIT MEETINGS HELD AMONG MAJOR ALLIED  
COUNTRIES. THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE DEMOCRACIES IS DEEPER  
AND WARMER AND MORE EFFECTIVE THAN AT ANY TIME IN 30 YEARS

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-- WE ARE STABILIZING THE STRATEGIC BALANCE, AND  
PUSHING BACK THE SPECTRE OF NUCLEAR WAR. IN STRATEGIC  
ARMS LIMITATION, A DECISIVE STEP FORWARD WAS TAKEN IN THE  
VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD -- WHICH RECOGNIZED THAT A CEILING  
SHOULD BE PLACED ON THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF  
EACH SIDE -- WHICH I WORKED OUT WITH GENERAL SECRETARY  
BREZHNEV.

-- THE FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS  
BEEN BUILT. AMERICA DEMONSTRATED ITS READINESS TO SEEK  
WHAT ELUDED THE WORLD FOR A GENERATION -- A DECISIVE MOVE  
TOWARD PEACE IN THIS IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORLD. HOPES  
FOR FUTURE PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WERE STIRRED BY THE

HISTORIC AGREEMENTS WE REACHED AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF  
TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WE FORMED.

-- OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA IS PROVING ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS DURABILITY. WE  
ARE FINDING MORE AND MORE COMMON GROUND BETWEEN OUR TWO  
COUNTRIES ON BASIC QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

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-- IN RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, A HISTORIC DIA-  
LOGUE HAS BEGUN BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL NATIONS AND THE  
DEVELOPING NATIONS ON ALL THE ISSUES OF ECONOMIC EQUITY  
AND PROGRESS. THE PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE ARE ALMOST ALL  
INITIATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES; THE WORLD FOOD  
CONFERENCE OF 1974; THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY; THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC  
COOPERATION IN 1975; AND THE FOURTH UNCTAD CONFERENCE IN  
1976. WE ARE LAUNCHED ON THIS PROCESS OF SHAPING POSITIVE  
AND RELIABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN RICH NATIONS AND  
POOR OVER THE LONG-TERM FUTURE.

-- IN AFRICA, THE QUEST FOR PEACE, RACIAL JUSTICE AND  
ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS AT A CRUCIAL POINT. THE UNITED  
STATES, IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM, IS  
ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THAT HISTORIC PROCESS. WILL CHANGE  
COME ABOUT BY WARFARE AND CHAOS AND FOREIGN INTERVENTION?  
OR WILL IT COME ABOUT BY NEGOTIATED AND FAIR SOLUTIONS,  
ENSURING MAJORITY RULE AND (UNDERLINE "AND") MINORITY

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RIGHTS? AMERICA IS COMMITTED TO THE SIDE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, AND TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AFRICA SHOULD SHAPE ITS OWN FUTURE FREE OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION.

4. I AM PROUD OF THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. THEY CONSTITUTE A RECORD OF BROAD SUCCESS FOR AMERICA, AND FOR THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF ALL MANKIND. MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN, SOME OF THEM OF VAST SCOPE. BUT THIS ADMINISTRATION LEAVES TO ITS SUCCESSOR A WORLD IN BETTER CONDITION THAN WE FOUND. AND WE LEAVE, AS WELL, A SOLID FOUNDATION FOR PROGRESS ON A RANGE OF ISSUES THAT ARE VITAL TO THE WELL BEING OF AMERICA.

-- A SALT AGREEMENT, WHICH WILL FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY PUT A CEILING ON THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, IS WELL WITHIN REACH. WITH GOOD WILL ON THE PART OF BOTH NATIONS, AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE THIS YEAR, WELL BEFORE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT EXPIRES.

-- WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT OF THE UNITED  
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STATES, THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE MOVED A VERY LONG WAY TOWARD A PEACEFUL TRANSITION FROM WHITE TO BLACK RULE IN RHODESIA, FROM COLONIAL DOMINATION TO INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA, AND FROM DOMINATION BY THE MEN WITH THE GUNS TO A TIME WHEN MODERATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY OFFERS TRUE HOPE FOR BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE. THE

PROGRESS THUS FAR ACHIEVED MUST BE MAINTAINED; SUCCESS  
MUST COME FROM THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, FOR THE LIVES OF  
THOUSANDS AND THE WELL BEING OF MILLIONS DEPEND UPON IT.  
-- THANKS TO AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, THE PROSPECTS FOR  
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BRIGHTER THAN THEY HAVE BEEN  
IN THREE DECADES. THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL CONTINUE TO  
LOOK TO US TO LEAD THEM FROM THE TRAGEDY OF CONFRONTATION  
AND WAR TO A NEW ERA OF ACCOMMODATION AND PEACE. WE HAVE  
NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO PERSEVERE, FOR THE OPPORTUNITIES  
FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT ARE GREAT AND THE PRICE OF FAILURE  
A RETURN TO THE BLOODSHED AND HATRED THAT HAVE FOR TOO  
LONG BROUGHT TRAGEDY TO ARAB AND JEW ALIKE, AND THE WORLD  
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TO THE BRINK OF WAR.

-- WE ARE WELL ADVANCED ON NEGOTIATIONS ON A TREATY  
THAT WILL SAFEGUARD AMERICA'S VITAL STAKE IN THE PANAMA  
CANAL WHILE RECOGNIZING PANAMA'S LEGITIMATE CLAIMS AS  
WELL. WITH PERSEVERANCE A NEW PANAMA CANAL REGIME CAN BE  
OURS DURING THE COURSE OF THE YEAR.

-- THE WORLD HAS MOVED CLOSER TO CONCLUDING A TREATY  
GOVERNING THE USE OF THE OCEANS FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL  
NATIONS. THE LAW OF THE SEA NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ALREADY  
ACHIEVED MUCH, THANKS IN GREAT PART TO THE LEADERSHIP OF  
THE UNITED STATES. WHILE MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, WE CAN  
REALIZE A TREATY THIS YEAR IF WE CONTINUE TO LEAD THE WAY.

-- REFORM OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS WELL

ADVANCED. MEETINGS HELD DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS WITH  
THE LEADERS OF THE FREE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMIC  
POWERS HAVE ALREADY LED TO IMPORTANT CHANGES THAT SERVE  
BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING ALIKE. THE MOMENTUM ALREADY  
ACHIEVED MUST BE NURTURED AND STRENGTHENED, FOR THE  
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PROSPERITY OF RICH AND POOR DEPENDS UPON IT.

5. WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
AND WHAT WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS  
THE PRODUCT OF THE GENIUS OF AMERICANS WORKING TOGETHER  
FOR THE COMMON GOOD. IT IS THIS, OUR REMARKABLE ABILITY  
TO WORK TOGETHER, THAT HAS MADE US A UNIQUE NATION. IT IS  
CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE PEOPLE STRIVING FOR A  
BETTER WORLD.

-- I AM PROUD OF MY RECORD IN THE CONDUCT OF U.S.

FOREIGN POLICY, AND I KNOW ALL PATRIOTIC AMERICANS WILL  
WANT THIS NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY TO SUCCEED UNDER THE NEW  
PRESIDENT.

6. I URGE MEMBERS OF MY PARTY TO GIVE HIM LOYAL SUPPORT.

7. THIS IS NO TIME FOR RECRIMINATIONS, BUT I WOULD EXPRESS  
THE HOPE THAT THE CONGRESS RE-EXAMINE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL  
ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO  
DECLARE WAR, THE DUTY TO ADVISE AND CONSENT ON THE PART OF  
THE SENATE, AND THE POWER OF THE PURSE ON THE PART OF THE  
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HOUSE, ARE AMPLE AUTHORITY FOR THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH AND  
SHOULD BE JEALOUSLY PRESERVED.

8. BUT BECAUSE WE MAY HAVE BEEN TOO CARELESS OF THESE  
POWERS IN THE PAST DOES NOT JUSTIFY CONGRESSIONAL INTRU-  
SION INTO, OR OBSTRUCTION OF, THE PROPER EXERCISE OF  
PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES NOW OR IN THE FUTURE. THERE  
CAN BE ONLY ONE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND IN THESE TIMES  
CRISES CANNOT BE MANAGED AND WARS CANNOT BE WAGED BY  
COMMITTEE. NOR CAN PEACE BE PURSUED BY PARLIAMENTARY  
DEBATE. TO THE EARS OF THE WORLD, THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS  
FOR THE NATION. WHILE HE IS, OF COURSE, ULTIMATELY  
ACCOUNTABLE TO THE CONGRESS, THE COURTS AND THE PEOPLE,  
HE AND HIS EMISSARIES MUST NOT BE HANDICAPPED IN ADVANCE  
IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AS HAS  
SOMETIMES HAPPENED IN THE PAST. END TEXT.

9. BEGIN TEXT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE SECTION.

AMERICA'S FIRST GOAL IS AND WILL ALWAYS BE PEACE. AMERICA  
MUST REMAIN FIRST IN THE WORLD IN KEEPING PEACE IN THE  
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WORLD. WE CAN REMAIN FIRST IN PEACE ONLY IF WE ARE NEVER  
SECOND IN DEFENSE.

10. IN PRESENTING THE STATE OF THE UNION TO THE CONGRESS  
AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I HAVE A SPECIAL OBLIGATION  
AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO REPORT ON OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE.  
OUR SURVIVAL AS A FREE AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE REQUIRES,  
ABOVE ALL, STRONG MILITARY FORCES THAT ARE WELL-EQUIPPED

AND HIGHLY TRAINED TO PERFORM THEIR ASSIGNED MISSION.

THIS MUST NEVER BECOME AN ISSUE OF PARTISAN DEBATE.

11. I AM PARTICULARLY PROUD TO REPORT THAT OVER THE PAST TWO AND A HALF YEARS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REVERSE THE DANGEROUS DECLINE IN THE REAL RESOURCES THIS COUNTRY DEVOTES TO NATIONAL DEFENSE. THIS WAS THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM I FACED IN 1974. FOR MANY REASONS WE HAD ALLOWED OUR REAL (UNDERLINE "REAL") DEFENSE SPENDING TO DECLINE. IN THE BUDGETS I HAVE SUBMITTED, INCLUDING THE PRESENT ONE, WE HAVE NOT ONLY CHECKED THAT DECLINE, BUT WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A POSITIVE TREND.

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12. THE CHALLENGE THAT NOW CONFRONTS THIS COUNTRY IS WHETHER WE HAVE THE NATIONAL WILL AND DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THIS EFFORT OVER THE LONG TERM; FOR WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO OSCILLATE FROM YEAR TO YEAR IN OUR OVERALL DEFENSE EFFORT. INDEED, WE HAVE A DUTY TO LOOK BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION OF BUDGETS, AND TO EXAMINE THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM WE WILL FACE OVER THE NEXT DECADE.

13. I HAVE BEEN THE FIRST PRESIDENT THAT WAS IN A POSITION TO ADDRESS THE LONG-TERM BASIC ISSUES WITHOUT THE BURDEN OF VIETNAM. THE WAR IN INDOCHINA CONSUMED ENORMOUS RESOURCES, AT THE VERY TIME THAT THE STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY WE ENJOYED WAS DISAPPEARING. AS A RESULT OF OUR OWN UNILATERAL DECISIONS, OUR STRATEGIC FORCES



LEVELLED OFF. YET, THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUED A STEADY,  
CONSTANT BUILD UP OF ITS OWN FORCES, COMMITTING A HIGH  
PERCENTAGE OF ITS NATIONAL ECONOMIC EFFORT TO DEFENSE.

THIS SITUATION WAS REMEDIED IN PART BY THE FIRST SALT

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AGREEMENTS, AND I PROFOUNDLY HOPE THAT IT CAN BE FURTHER  
IMPROVED THROUGH NEW AGREEMENTS.

14. NEVERTHELESS, THE UNITED STATES CAN NEVER TOLERATE A  
SHIFT IN THE STRATEGIC BALANCE AGAINST US, OR EVEN A  
SITUATION WHERE OUR OWN PEOPLE OR OUR ALLIES PERCEIVE  
THE BALANCE TO BE SHIFTING AGAINST US. IT MAY BE THAT  
TECHNOLOGY HAS REACHED THE POINT THAT NEITHER SIDE CAN,  
IN FACT, ACHIEVE A DECISIVE STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY. BUT  
THE UNITED STATES WOULD RISK THE MOST SERIOUS POLITICAL  
CONSEQUENCES IF THE WORLD CAME TO BELIEVE THAT OUR  
ADVERSARIES HAVE A DECISIVE MARGIN OF SUPERIORITY. IN  
ORDER TO MAINTAIN A STRATEGIC BALANCE WE HAVE TO PLAN FOR  
THE 1980'S AND BEYOND. THE SOPHISTICATION OF MODERN  
WEAPONS REQUIRES THAT WE MAKE DECISIONS NOW (UNDERLINE  
"NOW") IF WE ARE TO INSURE OUR SECURITY TEN YEARS FROM  
NOW.

15. THEREFORE I HAVE CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED AND STRONGLY  
URGED THAT WE PURSUE THREE CRITICAL STRATEGIC PROGRAMS:

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THE TRIDENT MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINE; THE NEW B-1

BOMBER, WITH ITS SUPERIOR CAPABILITY TO PENETRATE THE MOST  
MODERN AIR DEFENSES; AND FINALLY, A NEW INTERCONTINENTAL  
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BALLISTIC MISSILE THAT WILL BE ABLE TO SURVIVE AN ATTACK  
AND DELIVER A DEVASTATING RETALIATORY STRIKE.

16. IN AN ERA WHERE THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES REMAIN  
IN A ROUGH EQUILIBRIUM, THE RISKS OF CONFLICT BELOW THE  
NUCLEAR THRESHOLD MAY GROW MORE PERILOUS. THE SECOND  
MAJOR LONG TERM CHALLENGE THEREFORE IS TO DEVELOP  
CAPABILITIES TO DEAL WITH CHALLENGES AND CRISES THROUGH-  
OUT THE WORLD, AND PARTICULARLY IN EUROPE.

17. IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO RELY SOLELY ON OUR  
STRATEGIC FORCES TO GUARANTEE OUR SECURITY OR TO DETER  
AGGRESSION. WE MUST HAVE SUPERIOR NAVAL FORCES FOR BOTH  
THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC, STRONG OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE  
TACTICAL AIR FORCES, AS WELL AS MOBILE AND MODERN GROUND  
FORCES.

-- I HAVE DIRECTED A LONG-TERM EFFORT TO AUGMENT OUR  
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STRATEGIC FORCES WITH IMPROVED WORLDWIDE CAPABILITIES TO  
DEAL WITH REGIONAL CRISES.

-- I HAVE SUBMITTED A FIVE YEAR NAVAL BUILDING PROGRAM  
THAT WILL BE INDISPENSABLE IF WE ARE TO GUARANTEE THE  
FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

-- THE SECURITY OF EUROPE AND THE INTEGRITY OF NATO  
MUST REMAIN A PRIORITY GOAL OF AMERICAN DEFENSE POLICY. I  
HAVE THEREFORE DIRECTED A SPECIAL, LONG-TERM PROGRAM TO

RESTORE OUR CAPACITY TO SUSTAIN A CONFLICT IN EUROPE AT  
WHATEVER LEVEL WE ARE CHALLENGED.

18. AS I LEAVE OFFICE, I AM PROUD TO REPORT THAT OUR  
NATIONAL DEFENSE IS SECOND TO NONE. BUT I ALSO MUST WARN  
THAT THERE IS NO GUARANTEE IT WILL REMAIN SO, UNLESS WE  
HAVE THE WISDOM AND THE COURAGE TO PREPARE FOR THE  
DECADES TO COME. END TEXT.  
ROBINSON

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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